

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Our readers will find on page 180 a statement signed by the Executive Committee of the United Suffragists, giving reasons for a widening of the Suffrage demand. Since the U.S. Council Meeting of last February the Society's claim has been for women to be enfranchised "on an equal democratic basis with men." The exigencies of the political situation have now led to a definition of this demand as a claim for the enfranchisement of every woman and man, irrespective of any of the existing qualifications for the vote. It is held that these qualifications, at the present moment, threaten to provide the Government with an excuse for excluding women from any measure that may be devised to secure the votes of men who have become disfranchised by the war. Our new demand, which we, as the organ of the United Suffragists, now make, seems to us the only means of safeguarding the woman's vote in the extraordinarily complicated situation that has arisen over the question of Registration Reform.

The Deputation to Mr. Asquith

As we go to press, Mr. Asquith's promised statement to the House of Commons, on the Government's intentions in this matter, has not been made; and the Suffrage Deputation, of which details will be found on another page, is therefore holding itself in readiness to repeat, if necessary, its request for an interview with the Minister or Ministers in charge of the proposed Bill. The prevailing belief is, so difficult has it been found to safeguard the votes of soldiers and sailors on the basis of the present Register, that the Government will merely propose the extension of the present Parliament (which would otherwise come to an end in September), with perhaps a clause to enable the old Register to be brought up to date. With or without this clause such a measure will scarcely satisfy those who are insisting on a military and naval Service franchise, and will at best only put off the inevitable reform of the Register, which has been rendered more urgent than ever by the war. We feel emphatically that the time has come for Suffragists to take a broad democratic view of the matter, and to make it clear to the Govern-

ment that women, at all events, regard the old franchise laws as hopelessly out of date, and believe that the only way to make Parliament representative of Great Britain after the war, and worthy of its self-governing Dominions, is to get rid at once of the crusted franchise complexities which now render it unrepresentative even of the men of the country.

Women and the Irish Settlement

As we write this the Irish question still remains unsettled, and we heartily regret the resignation from the Cabinet of so strong a Suffragist as Lord Selborne at this critical moment in Ireland's history. In pressing upon the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George the claims of women to be included in the new scheme of government, we remind them of the fact that the two extremist parties in Ireland—the Ulster Unionists and the Sinn Féiners—equally abolished the sex disability from their provisional Constitutions. In a fine peroration to his statement in the House of Commons on May 25, Mr. Asquith, referring to the sacrifices made by Irishmen at the Front, asked if the prospect could be tolerated, when the War came to an end, of seeing Irishmen "arrayed against one another in the most tragic and the most debasing of all conflicts—internecine domestic strife?" He added:—

The thought is inconceivable. . . . It would be a confession of bankruptcy, not only of statesmanship, but of patriotism.

Every word of this is applicable to Irish women. If "internecine domestic strife" is to be avoided in Ireland, the exclusion from the Irish settlement of women, who suffer and work at home while their men are fighting for the Empire abroad, must be regarded also as "inconceivable."

Women and the Insurance Act

Mr. Roberts' defence of the Government, in the House of Commons on June 20, with respect to the women's side of the working of the Insurance Act, offers an instance of the way women's matters are dealt with by a Parliament that is not responsible to women, and therefore treats them alternately with unfairness and sentimentalism, extremes of attitude that are both based on want of knowledge. The provision made under the Act for women's sickness and maternity benefit has fallen short by £170,000 (but for better conditions in 1915 it would have been by £675,000), owing to the actuaries having based their estimate upon a rate of sickness similar to that of men, whereas it is, of course, very much higher. It seems, however, that the actuaries did propose at the time to allow a margin of 24 per cent. more sickness than men, but this estimate was rejected by the Government; and here is Mr. Roberts' justification for their action:—

Before the House blames the Government for that, I would ask Hon. Members to recollect what the conditions were in 1911. In that year an agitation was raging in the county which, I think, would have fixed hold of any proposal to differentiate between men and women as a gross injustice. There were no facts available to justify such a differentiation . . . and I think, if the Government had decided to treat the women with far less liberality and generosity than men, and if such a proposal had been brought down to the House of

Commons, I do not think it would have survived an afternoon's discussion.

Several comments might be made on this enlightening passage: we will content ourselves here with the obvious one that if a vigorous agitation for votes can prevent a Government from lowering its sickness benefits to women how much more could the actual possession of the vote achieve for women's interests!

Munition Workers' Wages

Just a year ago Mr. Lloyd George promised a women's deputation that all women working on munitions should receive "a fair wage and a fixed minimum." That promise has not been carried into effect. As we have pointed out before, the £1 a week minimum, accorded by circular L2 to all women engaged on work formerly done by men, is far too low in view of the rise in the cost of living; it can be evaded by any unscrupulous employer by the simple device of slightly changing the character of the work; and in any case, it leaves out the thousands of women who are not even supposed to be on men's work. There are numberless instances of women and girls who are earning less than £1 a week, even when engaged on night work. Most of the organised bodies of women demand a minimum of 5d. an hour for all women engaged on war work; and this is the very least that should be granted to these women, who are wearing themselves out in the service of the country. And it should be clearly understood that it stands for a minimum, not a maximum wage.

War Prices

The Board of Trade has missed an opportunity in not appointing more women to the Committee whose business it is to enquire into the alarming rise in the cost of living. (This went up 2½ per cent. during May, and is now 59 per cent. higher than at the beginning of the war.) The choice of Mrs. Pember Reeves is an excellent one, but such a Committee will scarcely arrive at the beginning of the evil unless it takes into its councils many more like her, as well as women who are in even closer touch with, and actually live among, the poor. We should like to see Mrs. Barton, of the Women's Co-operative Guild (holding its Parliament as we go to press), on the Committee, to say nothing of Miss Anna Martin, who is so familiar with the housewives of Rotherhithe, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who knows as much about those of Bow and Poplar. It is to be hoped that the findings of the Committee will include a condemnation of the comfortable and prevailing belief that higher wages compensate for higher prices. Old Age pensioners still have only 5s. a week on which to starve to death; the majority of women workers, and large numbers of unskilled men, are still paid wages that are in no way commensurate with the rise in prices; and as for those who are enjoying an increase of income—well, as the *Manchester Guardian* says, "it is not a very good reward for them if by working much harder than usual they can just make as good a living as usual." Those of us who look ahead see a time coming when the war workers of to-day, both men and women, will need savings to fall back upon if they are to recuperate their

shattered health and be of any further use to the nation.

Decline of the Birth-rate

We regret that lack of space prevents our dealing with the very important Report, just issued in book form by Messrs. Chapman and Hall (price half a guinea), of the National Commission appointed with Parliamentary sanction in 1914 by the National Council of Public Morals, to enquire into the alleged decline of the birth-rate. We commend it to our readers as being worth the study of every Suffragist, especially the valuable Addition signed by some of the Commissioners, and the still more valuable minutes of evidence. This is a matter so intensely vital to the position of women that the presence of only six women on a Commission of forty-one members seems to us to render its findings of less value than they otherwise would have been; but this does not apply to the evidence given before them, which should be carefully studied. On the general question, Lady Selborne's letter in the *Times* (June 24) sheds a welcome ray of light. Giving figures to show the steady rise in the birth-rate of Australia and New Zealand in 1911-1913 (when it was falling elsewhere), she goes on to talk of the £5 maternity benefit granted in Australia, and says:—

There are two theories, either of which may be held. One that the production and nurture of children is entirely the affair of the individual parents. In that case no one should object if the parents choose to limit their families. The other is that it is a national concern, and that we are all interested in the future of our race and our nation. In that case should we not be prepared to bear some share of the burden of the support of the children, when necessary, as our Australian kinsfolk have done?

Lady Selborne is a good Suffragist, and the inference to be drawn from her allusion to a State where women have votes is obvious.

The Working Woman's Medal

It is a matter of congratulation for everyone that the bravery and devotion of women under fire is now recognised by their being made eligible for the Military Medal. A fitting accompaniment to this timely recognition of women's services at the Front would be the equal recognition of their bravery and devotion in the far less glorious but equally dangerous and even more essential service of motherhood at home. If our readers are in any doubt as to the truth of this comparison, let them carefully study Miss Anna Martin's brilliant series of five articles on the terrible position of the working-class mother, rendered far more terrible by recent legislation in which she, as a voteless woman, has had no voice. These articles, entitled "The Toad Under the Harrow," began in our March number, and are concluded in this issue. We think no one, reading this series straight through (they can be sent post free for 7d.), could fail to demand for all women the Mother's Medal, that is, the Vote.

Items of Interest

Major H. J. Gillespie, R.F.A., Hon. Treasurer of the United Suffragists, was mentioned for "gallantry in the field" in General Sir Douglas Haig's dispatch, published in the Press on June 16.

We understand that a Referendum of electors is to be taken in British Columbia, on the matter of enfranchising women, as well as soldiers, in the proposed amendment to the Elections Act. If this is successful, women will be able to vote after January 1, 1917.

The new Bishop of Peterborough, the Rev. F. T. Woods, is, we understand, a sound Suffragist.

The United Free Church Assembly in its Edinburgh meeting passed a recommendation for the election of women as deacons, subject to the approval of the minister and the Kirk Session.

We are asked to announce that a preacher well known for his Suffragist opinions, the Rev. J. Fort Newton, D.Litt., of Iowa, begins a month's ministry at the City Temple on Sunday, July 2. Services are at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m.

A woman doctor has been appointed assistant resident medical officer at Brownlow Institution, Liverpool.

Miss Dorothy Dufton, of Girton College, has

been awarded by the Royal Society the first year's income of their Lawrence Fund, for an investigation of pneumonia produced by poisonous gases.

Birmingham municipality is ahead of the Home Office, for the Watch Committee has licensed women as taxicab drivers. Women,

paid at the same rates as men, are also engaged in tar-spraying the streets in this city.

"Women are making superb records," says Lady Randolph Churchill in the *New York Times*. "It is my opinion that after the war women will be given the vote without much opposition."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE EMPIRE

The Empire as Commonwealth—How Woman Suffrage Can Realise This Ideal—Great Imperial Suffrage Conference in London

The Prime Minister, in a speech made to his constituents at Ladybank on June 14, said: "When the war comes to an end, when the reign of peace is re-established, we shall have to take stock, as an Empire, of our internal relations."

Proceeding, he enumerated the fine services rendered, and sacrifices made, by the men from Overseas, who had come to fight the Empire's battles, and added—

With such an Imperial record it will never be possible, in my judgment, to revert to our old methods of counsel and of government. The fabric of the Empire will have to be refashioned and the relations, not only between Great Britain and Ireland, but between the United Kingdom and our Dominions will of necessity be brought, and brought promptly, under close and connected review. Such, at least, is my own opinion, and I respectfully commend this consideration to my countrymen, both in this island and in Ireland.

"The Future Government of the Empire"

In Mr. Lloyd George's published proposals for the settlement of Ireland, Clause 5 runs thus:

Immediately after the war an Imperial conference of representatives from all the Dominions of the Empire to be held to consider the future government of the Empire, including the question of the government of Ireland.

Press Comments

The *Nation* (June 17) comments thus upon these two statements:—

Side by side with these older constitutional problems we would place the political emancipation of women. That also is an international idea, and our adoption of it may set the model for Europe. An exhausting war is commonly followed by a world-wide period of reaction. It lies with our will to break that tradition.

And again, in the same leading article:—

The United Kingdom, if it is to take its place side by side with the Dominions, as the greatest unit in a federal empire, must acquire a constitution somewhat similar to theirs. That raises, not merely the question of devolution, and the provision for Wales and Scotland of some measure of Home Rule, but also the question of the Upper House; and each of these questions includes, both for men and women, a franchise issue.

Even the *Times* (June 15) admits that "the fabric of Empire will have to be refashioned," though it refrains from mentioning women's place in the refashioning.

Our Conclusions

We fully share, as Suffragists, this fine, broad conception of the Empire as a great Commonwealth, a model for the governments of the world. But we agree profoundly with the *Nation* that this ideal will not be realised without the co-operation of women. The enfranchisement of women, whose war service record will be acknowledged by all to stand as high as the men's record so justly acclaimed by the Prime Minister, must necessarily form part of the reconstruction, as an Imperial Commonwealth, of an Empire in which some millions of women Overseas already vote on an equality with men, and other millions, both at home and Overseas, are still working for their enfranchisement. And the new demand of Suffragists for the democratisation of the franchise in Great Britain will bind more closely than ever before the fully enfranchised women of the Dominions Overseas with those British women who are still struggling for freedom.

Women's Imperial Conference

With all these new ideals of Empire in the air, the biennial Conference summoned to meet in London on July 5, 6, and 7 by the British

Dominions Woman Suffrage Union, acquires a new significance and a new importance. Thirteen British Suffrage Societies are taking part in it (including the United Suffragists), and delegates and representatives will be present from many of the following women's organisations in the Dominions which are either affiliated to, or in warm sympathy with, the B.D.W.S.U.:—

Australia:—Women's Political Association of Victoria; Women's Political Association of South Australia; Women's Service Guild of West Australia; Women's Liberal League of New South Wales; Queensland Women's Electoral League, and others.

New Zealand:—Women's Christian Temperance Union; Canterbury Women's Institute.

South Africa:—Women's Enfranchisement League of Cape Province; Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa.

Canada:—National Equal Franchise Union; Women's Political Education League of Manitoba; Canadian National Union.

PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE

July 5; 11.30 a.m.—"Loss of Nationality through Marriage." Mrs. Ford-Smith, Miss C. Macmillan, Miss L. Nettlefold, and others.

Overseas Suffrage Meeting; 2.30 p.m.—Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (Chair), Mrs. Beamish Lane (South Africa), and others.

July 6; 10 a.m. and 2 p.m.—"Sex Morality and Sex Education."—Miss Neilans, Miss Royden, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Norah March, B.Sc., Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky, Rev. Dr. Scott Lidgett, Miss Abadam, Mr. Maurice Gregory.

An Evening on India; 8 p.m.—Lady Muir-Mackenzie (Chair), Sir Krishna Gupta, K.C.S.I., and others.

July 7; 10 a.m. and 2 p.m.—"Economic Position of Women and Children." Mrs. Pember Reeves (Chair), Miss Margaret Ashton, Miss Anna Martin, Mrs. Despard, and representatives from the Workers' Suffrage Federation, Women's Co-operative Guild, Women's Labour League, National Federation of Women Workers.

Public Suffrage Meeting; 7.30 p.m.—(See back page of this issue.)

All the above meetings will be held in the Large Central Hall, Westminster (near Westminster Hospital). Tickets for the Conference, 2s. 6d. (all three days), or 1s. (single day), *exclusive of evenings*. Tickets for "Evening on India," 2s., 1s., and 6d.; for Public Suffrage Meeting, 2s., 1s., 6d.—to be obtained, with detailed programme of Conference, from the Hon. Sec., United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.; the International Suffrage Shop, 5, Duke Street, Charing Cross; and Miss D. Pethick, 39, Meadway Court, Golder's Green.

SOCIAL EVENTS

Among the social events of interest during the week will be visits to the different Suffrage Societies (including the U.S. offices and Women's Club), an At Home given by the Workers' Suffrage Federation; and Mrs. Despard's Birthday Party given by the Women's Freedom League. Mrs. Hertha Ayrton is most kindly entertaining the Overseas delegates and the Executive of the United Suffragists (of whom she is a Vice-President) at her house, the week before.

An Empire Suffrage Poster Parade

But what is of greatest importance to Suffragists is that Suffrage Societies are co-operating with the B.D.W.S.U. in the Public Suffrage Meeting on July 7, and in a poster parade advertising this meeting, which will take place on Thursday afternoon, July 6, and Friday morning, July 7, the chief feature of which will be its indication that Suffragists stand for "Woman Suffrage and the Empire." All U.S. members ready to take part in this Empire Suffrage Poster Parade are asked to communicate at once with Miss Brewster at 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.

THE SUFFRAGE DEPUTATION AND MR. ASQUITH

Since we last went to press, the following communication has been addressed to Mrs. Ayrton Gould (Hon. Secretary of the Management Committee of the Suffrage Deputation that sought an interview with Mr. Asquith on the subject of the Registration Bill—as related in our June issue) from the Prime Minister's Secretary, Mr. David Davies:—

The Prime Minister desires me to say that he regrets that the heavy claims upon his time prevent him from receiving the deputation which you suggest in your letter of the 19th May. Had his engagements been less exacting he would have been glad to receive a deputation on this subject, but in the present circumstances he must ask you to submit any further representations which you may wish him to consider in writing.

The Deputation's Answer

Mrs. Gould, on behalf of the Deputation, then forwarded a statement of their views under a covering letter, in the course of which she said:

The deputation wish me to add that, while appreciating your reasons for being unable to grant them an interview, they still feel, in view of your statement in the House on June 1 that the Government "have this question under consideration and will state their conclusions at an early date after the recess," that it is of the utmost importance for them to be able to present the women's side of the question to those who are engaged in arriving at these conclusions. They would, therefore, ask you to be so good as to arrange for them to be received by the Minister or Ministers responsible for the drafting of the Government's proposals at some date before the reassembling of Parliament.

Their Signed Statement

The following is the statement, signed by all the members of the Deputation, which has been submitted to the Prime Minister:—

To the Right Honourable H. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P.:—

Sir.—We desire to ascertain the intentions of the Government with regard to the inclusion of the enfranchisement of women in the Bill that must shortly be introduced—as the Government has admitted—to deal with the Parliamentary Register.

All parties are apparently in agreement in maintaining that no revision can be effective which does not by its proposals bring in numbers of fresh voters. We wish most urgently to represent to you that if statutory limitations as to time or other franchise qualifications are held to come within the scope of the Registration scheme now under consideration of the Government, so also may statutory limitations as to sex come within the scope of this measure. We would respectfully urge this consideration upon you, as revealing a welcome opportunity to include the enfranchisement of women in the forthcoming legislation to deal with the Register.

"Women's Long Overdue Claim"

But if the Government, in spite of these representations, should take the view that women cannot be enfranchised under a Registration Act, or by Order in Council, or by other means taken to deal with the Register as it stands—then we urge that the Government shall substitute a Franchise Bill by which under no contingency will women's long overdue claims be disregarded.

Since, Sir, we are bound to anticipate any objections that may be advanced against this proposal, we wish to reply to the argument that the proposed Bill to reform the Register is an emergency measure to facilitate Parliamentary elections during the war. We submit to your consideration the fact that even emergency Registration reforms will hold good after the war. And we urge you to consider the further fact that there is no emergency more pressing than the political helplessness of women in view of the present industrial conditions, rendered more difficult than ever by the circumstances of the war. That women have risen to meet the nation's need in an hour of emergency has been universally admitted. Will not the nation as represented by the Government take this opportunity and rise to the emergency need of women for political enfranchisement?

"On Political and Human Grounds"

Both on political and on human grounds we press this course upon you. You have yourself on a former occasion expressed the opinion that Woman Suffrage suffered politically from being a non-party question. This, Sir, now becomes a cogent reason for settling it during the existence of a Coalition Cabinet. Further, if some precedent would seem to be required for enfranchising women during a war, we have it in our own Dominions, where in Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan women have been given the vote this year. In Denmark also, which, though not a belligerent country, is very seriously affected by the war, national unity was secured last year by the complete enfranchisement of women.

On human grounds we need hardly appeal to you, Sir, who on more than one occasion during the war

have publicly testified to the splendid war services of women. But we would submit to you that to praise women without acknowledging their fitness for citizenship amounts to a tacit endorsement of their political subjection in its suggestion that it is their service and not their intelligent co-operation that you recognise, desire, or value. In no sense do women ask reward for what they have freely and disinterestedly given; least of all do they regard a constitutional right in the light of a reward. But if the votes of men are to be secured to them by reason of their war service—the reason most frequently advanced for Registration reform at this time—the votes of women cannot with justice be withheld when they too are giving all they have to give in our country's defence, and bearing at least an equal share of the burden and suffering that war brings upon the whole nation.

"An Act of Wisdom and Beneficence"

For these reasons, and for others which will be readily suggested to you by your political experience, your sense of justice, and by the humanity that is common to us all, we urge you to take this great opportunity of performing an act of wisdom and beneficence which will cause the Coalition Government to be remembered long after the tragedy that called it into existence has become but a dim memory.—We are, yours faithfully,

(SIGNED) Therese Muir Mackenzie, H. W. Mas-singham, Florence Fenwick Miller, Henry W. Nev-
insson, Frederick Whelen, Ben Turner, Winifred
Holiday, Herbert H. Elvin, W. O. Robinson, Evelyn
Sharp, Muriel De La Warr, Ruth Cavendish Ben-
tineck, Anne Cobden Sanderson, Charlotte Despard,
Vernon Hartshorn, Gertrude Forbes-Robertson,
Robert Smillie, J. Spring Rice, M. Arncliffe Sen-
nett, Robert Williams, M. A. St. Clair Stobart,
John Masefield, John Perry, and Ben Tillett.

Mr. Bonham Carter, the Prime Minister's private secretary, replied as follows on June 20:—

"I am desired by the Prime Minister to thank you for your courteous letter of the 15th June, and for the statement of the views of the proposed Suffrage Deputation which will receive Mr. Asquith's careful consideration. Mr. Asquith will certainly bear in mind the request contained in the latter part of your letter, but it would be premature for him to give any undertaking until the Govern-
ment have made a statement with regard to their policy in the House of Commons. If after the state-
ment has been made you still desire an interview, will you please write to me again."

We comment on the above correspondence elsewhere.

CAMPAIGN IN THE COUNTRY Meetings

The London United Suffragists met in conference in the Essex Hall after we last went to press, when speeches were made by Mrs. Pethick Law-
rence and Miss Brewster on the situation created by the prospect of a Registration Bill, and several members took part in the discussion. One out-
come of the meeting was a poster parade outside the Houses of Parliament on the two following days, when considerable interest was created by the sight of the Suffrage colours (the W.F.L. also
paraded) and of such mottoes on the posters as "To praise women without giving them the Vote is not only Bad Form—it is unpatriotic," "The Woman who can cast a Shell can cast a Vote," "The Women are Splendid" (*Daily Mail*)—Then give them the Vote."

Northern Men's Federation

The Northern Men's Federation held a fine public meeting in the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, on June 7, at which the principal speakers were Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett, Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, and Mr. Ben Tillett; Councillor Bruce Lindsay pre-
sided. Other Councillors also spoke, and the fol-
lowing resolution was passed unanimously:—

"That this meeting calls upon Mr. Asquith and the Coalition Government to grasp the present opportunity of recognising the right of women to full citizenship in the country which women do so much to maintain, and include them in the new Parliamentary Service Franchise Register, and thus secure for the defence of our liberties the incalculable strength of a genuinely united people."

A Voters' Petition, calling upon the Govern-
ment to include women in the new Parliamentary Register, was extensively signed in the Hall.

U.S. Branches

United Suffragists, in London and the country, have held meetings demanding that the Woman Suffrage question be dealt with as well as the reform of the Register. In Hyde Park, London, Platt Fields and Stevenson Square, Manchester, open-air meetings and demonstrations are being held. In Manchester a joint letter, signed by representatives of the U.S. and other Suffrage Societies, was sent to all the papers; the Bolton U.S. approached two of their local M.P.'s in a deputation. The Letchworth U.S. is joining with other Societies on July 3 in a public meeting (see Campaign). All the U.S. Branches, and many individual members, inform us that they have written on the subject to Cabinet Ministers and M.P.'s.

RESOLUTIONS

At its annual meeting on May 24 the Free Church League for Woman Suffrage passed a reso-
lution, reaffirming "its steadfast adherence to the democratic principle of the equal citizenship of men and women," and urging "upon the Govern-
ment the necessity of the inclusion of women in the new register to be compiled in accordance with the Parliament and Registration Act of 1916."

On the same occasion the following resolution was also passed:—

"In view of the possibility that in the near future the demand for Woman Suffrage 'on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men' may not meet the political situation, this annual meeting decides that the Executive shall be em-
powered during the coming year to support any measure which they consider likely to obtain the enfranchisement of women."

NEW U.S. BRANCH

Inaugural Meeting at Cosham

A meeting of Suffragists was held at Cosham on June 21 to start a Portsmouth branch of the U.S. The chair was taken by Miss O'Shea, in whose garden the meeting was held. Mr. Upson urged upon the audience the necessity of continuing suffrage work at the present time, and Miss Brewster dealt with the political situation. A reso-
lution calling upon the Government to include women in the forthcoming Registration Bill was passed, and will be sent to the Prime Minister, the local M.P. (Mr. Arthur Lee), and the local Press. A good many new members were made. For further particulars and membership forms apply to Miss O'Shea, The Cottage, Cosham, Hants.

BALANCE SHEET FOR 1915

Owing to the European War, there has been great delay in auditing our accounts, and the balance-
sheet for 1915, which could not be included in our Annual Report (now ready, price 2d. to non-mem-
bers), will be published in VOTES FOR WOMEN as soon as it is ready.

DO YOU WANT AN OFFICE?

Owing to the change from a weekly to a monthly issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN, two large airy rooms are now vacant at 27, Chancery Lane, and can be let temporarily or permanently, furnished or un-
furnished (electric light ready for use), on appli-
cation to the Hon. Financial Treasurer (Mrs. Ayr-
ton Gould, United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.).

BRITISH DOMINIONS WOMAN SUFFRAGE UNION SECOND (BIENNIAL) CONFERENCE, JULY 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1916, CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER.

SUBJECTS:

Women as Citizens in the Dominions Overseas.
Loss of Nationality through Marriage with an Alien.

Sex Education and Sex Morality.

Women and Children in the Industrial World.

Among the Speakers are the following:—Miss Abadam, Councillor Margaret Ashton, Mrs. Despard, Maurice Gregory, Esq., Laurence Housman, Esq., Miss Susan Lawrence, L.C.C., Miss Chrystal Macmillan, L.L.B., Miss Norah March, B.Sc., Miss Anna Martin, Miss Alison Neilans, Miss S. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Royden, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Dr. B. Tchaykovsky, and representatives from many Women's Organisations.

THURSDAY, JULY 6th, 8 p.m.—An Evening on India. Lady Muir Mackenzie, Sir K. G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir M. M. Bhowaggee, K.C.I.E., and others.

FRIDAY, JULY 7th, 7.30 p.m.—PUBLIC SUFFRAGE MEETING. Woman Suffrage and the Empire.

Particulars from the Hon. Sec. B.D.W.S.U., or at the International Suffrage Shop, 5, Duke Street, Charing Cross, where tickets may be obtained.

A Few Words of Advice

Motor Training, like most other things, may be done well, or may be done badly. To the experienced there is nothing worse than to watch (and hear) an indiffer-
ently trained motorist. There are many pitfalls for the layman in the selection of a School. Insist on inspecting Lecture Rooms and equipment before pay-
ing fees. See that the School is appointed by the R.A.C. You cannot then go far wrong. Our Pro-
spectus No. 1 will be sent on request.

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THE TOAD UNDER THE HARROW

By Anna Martin

V.

By way of conclusion to this series of articles two cases are cited to exemplify the metaphor of the title. It would be easy to furnish scores, but space forbids.

Mrs. P— is a woman of considerable ability and force of character. For years her husband was the victim of intemperate habits, and is, even now, only kept in the paths of righteousness by his wife's ceaseless care and watchfulness. Five out of eight children are living. The eldest girl suffers from defective eyesight, and Mrs. P—, in spite of overwhelming difficulties, kept her for four years under "treatment." Last year the Education Authority proposed that Amy should enter their school for the blind at West Norwood as a resident pupil, and the mother, to whom this particular child is as the apple of her eye, was only too glad to consent. Whether from the discontinuance of the "treatment" which Mrs. P— had been compelled by the authorities to obtain or from the better conditions of life Amy's eyes rapidly improved. Last January, when the mother was still upstairs from her confinement, a curt notice was received announcing that the girl was henceforth to live at home and travel backwards and forwards daily to Norwood, a season ticket being provided by the school. Mrs. P— prayed and expostulated in vain, and at last, in despair, sent for the writer. "If I have to keep Amy in food and clothing," she declared, "all the rest of us will have to starve." Out of a 29s. wage her husband gave her 25s., and her weekly budget worked out as follows:—

	s.	d.
Rent (exceptionally low because of the badness of the premises)	5	0
Coal (all the year round)	1	0
Insurance	1	4
Gas	1	2
Wood, soap, &c.	1	0
Boots (all the year round)	1	0
	10	6

6s. 6d. for Five Persons

After meeting these fixed charges Mrs. P— had next to provide for her husband's food. It is an accepted axiom in every working-class home that unless a man is fed to his satisfaction he neither can nor will work, and will betake himself to either public-house or cookshop. Mr. P—, indeed, was not unreasonable, but Englishmen are large eaters, and an analysis of his daily meals showed that his food, at present prices, could not be reckoned at a penny under 8s. a week. His wife was therefore left with 6s. 6d. a week to cover the cost of food and clothing for herself and four children, and, of course, had to earn herself to keep the home together at all. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that she was now handicapped by a young baby, the authorities saw no reason why they should not also thrust on her the burden of feeding and clothing a big girl of fifteen. Neither they, nor anyone else, would expect for a moment that the father should defray the cost out of his "bit"; four shillings was none too much for his clothes, boots, beer, tobacco, and clubs. Greatly daring, Mrs. P— declared that if Amy could see to travel by rail she could see to work, and she therefore found for her a job at 5s. a week and most of her food. Then followed months of remorseless pressure, with threats of fines and imprisonment, which nearly worried Mrs. P— into her grave, and which must have broken down a weaker woman. "The 'gentleman' said yesterday," she reported one day, "that he'd never known anyone have the cheek to stand out as I was doing, but I

daren't have fought on if I had not had friends behind me."

The measures taken by Mrs. P—'s friends were indeed so vigorous that last May the Education Authority discovered the child was not blind at all, and in consequence Mrs. P— is now permitted to keep her family's head above water. But in the case of ninety-nine poor mothers out of a hundred such a resistance to official tyranny would be impossible. They are poor, isolated, and despised, and can only helplessly stand by while their domestic apple-carts are being upset by other folks' stupidity.

Mrs. R—, a small, spare woman, thirty-seven years of age, has had twelve children, ten of whom are living. Her life has been one long struggle. Alice, the eldest daughter, suffers from heart complaint, and, the doctors say, must never go to work. On her husband's enlistment Mrs. R— received a separation allowance of £2 0s. 6d. a week, and felt herself in clover. But prices rose; the purchasing power of a sovereign fell to 12s. or 13s. She lost her milk, and it cost 3s. 6d. a week to feed her baby artificially. Her husband, moreover, had bequeathed her a liability which she was defraying at the rate of 10s. a month. In consequence week after week the woman found herself in debt, and rather than see the children deprived of necessities she determined to leave the family in charge of the invalid daughter and go herself to work. Naturally, the lack of her personal care soon made itself felt. The children turned up at school unkempt and untidy, and when questioned as to the reason, said, "Mother was at work." Authority was roused, and one day the trembling Mrs. R— was visited by two righteously-indignant "gentlemen," representing respectively the London County Council and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. They charged her with neglecting her offspring (for whose sake she was toiling in a factory from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m.), and declared that if one of the children died they would indict her for manslaughter. As Mrs. R— didn't see how she could keep them alive without feeding them she still persisted in her crime of earning. A week or two later agents of the authorities above mentioned forced their way into her house in her absence, examined the premises, and expressed themselves as far from satisfied. They reported the children looked delicate, the rooms wanted cleaning, and the baby's bottle was dirty. "Of course," exclaimed a sarcastic neighbour, "gentlemen don't see any reason for children to be delicate when there's been twelve in fifteen years, or for rooms to be upset when little 'uns have been left alone in them, or for a baby's bottle to be dirty until the mother's had time to wash it."

For the Crime of Earning

On May 17, however, Mrs. R— was summoned before a magistrate on the charge of causing "unnecessary suffering" to her children. Fortunately she possessed a brother-in-law who chivalrously put down £5 for her defence. "I've known her from a girl," he said to the writer, "and scarce as money is, I can't see her put upon. A woman has no chance against a lawyer. She's trapped or frightened into saying something wrong, and then the case goes against her." On her counsel's advice the ten children were collected in the solicitor's office, ready to be produced in court for inspection, and formed quite a side-show for casual visitors. Expert evidence was at hand to show that after Mrs. R— had met her fixed charges, provided the baby with its special food, paid off a weekly instalment of her husband's debt, and set aside the minimum sum possible each week for the renewal of her brood's boots and clothing, only 15s. was left for the food of herself and of nine children, and that her bread bill alone at pre-

sent prices came to 11s. 3d. This estimate, moreover, allowed not a farthing for incidental expenses—such as medicine, stamps, household replacements, or tram-fares. The case really resolved itself into this: Did Mrs. R— cause more suffering to her children by going to work and feeding them, or by staying at home and washing them? The question seemed to admit of only one answer. When the prosecution found, however, that, contrary to all precedent, the woman was actually to be professionally defended, and the case fought, they displayed that "tact" on which English administration has prided itself since the days of Dogberry. They proposed that Mrs. R— should merely be bound over on her promise not to go to work. The woman pleaded that she must earn if the children were not to starve, and the proposal was refused. They then applied to have the case postponed *sine die*. Mrs. R—'s counsel tried in vain to intervene, but the magistrate refused to listen, and the whole case was got rid of in five minutes.

The Voteless Mother's Position

The present position is therefore this: Her house can be forcibly entered at any moment by an agent of the N.S.P.C.C., who will take upon himself to judge whether or not she is doing her duty by her children. She was, indeed, thus visited two days after the trial. If her arrangements fail to meet with this official's approval, she will be summoned on the adjourned charge. Next time, it is practically certain that she will have no professional assistance, and she may, therefore, be sentenced to imprisonment for months. Is it possible to imagine a more cruel or harrowing situation for any human being?

Nature made the mother the guardian and priestess of the race; English law, so far as lies in its power, makes her an outcast and a pariah. It is for suffragists to see that Nature, and not the blundering of lawyers, shall determine her position in the future.

[Concluded.]

"VOTES FOR WOMEN"

Important!—Please Read

The urgency of the present political situation of our movement—to which VOTES FOR WOMEN has been largely instrumental in opening people's eyes—makes it doubly important that the sale of our paper should be increased. There are two ways in which our readers can help:—

(1) Send to the Publishers, VOTES FOR WOMEN (27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.) for some of our new order forms, attractively printed in the colours. Fill in one yourself and forward it, with 2s., to the same address, thus ensuring yourself an extra copy in addition to the one you already have, which you can place in a Free Library or some other Institute, or send to a friend in Camp or at the Front. The rest of the forms you can distribute among your friends until they all return to us, filled in.

(2) When you see a VOTES FOR WOMEN poster outside a shop or bookstall, ask for a copy of the paper and see that you get it.

Like Charley's Aunt—Still Running!

We are constantly told that newsagents have difficulty in supplying the paper, and believe it to have ceased publication. This, like the false report of Mark Twain's death, is "grossly exaggerated." Like Charley's Aunt, we are still running, and shall do so until we reach the winning post. Meanwhile, will our readers, in addition to informing newsagents of this fact, advise them to order their supplies straight from the Publishers of VOTES FOR WOMEN, as long as they experience any difficulty in obtaining the paper through the ordinary distributing agencies?

If our readers will kindly attend to all these points they will greatly assist our Publishers—and also bring a smile to the face of

The Editor.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. Telephone, Holborn 5880

THE CAMPAIGN

Saturday, July 1; 3.45 p.m.—At Home.—Hampstead. Hostess: The Misses Thompson. Speakers: Dr. Helen Hanson, Mr. Laurence Housman.

Monday, July 3; 8 p.m.—Joint Suffrage Meeting.—Letchworth. Speakers: Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. George Lansbury, &c. (See Letchworth U.S. on this page.)

Tuesday, July 4; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club, 92, Borough Road, S.E. Speaker: Mrs. Ben Webster.

Wednesday, July 5; 11.30 a.m., 2.30 & 7.30 p.m.—Women's Overseas Conference. (See page 178).

Thursday, July 6; 10 a.m., 2.30 and 8 p.m.—Overseas Conference.

Thursday, July 6; 5 p.m.—Open Air.—Hyde Park. Speakers: Mrs. Gregory and others.

Friday, July 7; 10 a.m. and 2.30 p.m.—Overseas Conference.

Friday, July 7; 8 p.m.—Members' Meeting.—Onward Buildings, Manchester.

FRIDAY, JULY 7; 7.30 p.m.—JOINT SUFFRAGE MEETING.—"WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE EMPIRE."—CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER. U.S. SPEAKER: MR. H. W. NEVINSON. (See back page of this issue.)

Sunday, July 9; 5 p.m.—Open Air.—Hyde Park. Speakers: Miss Price and others.

Tuesday, July 11; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Mrs. Sadd Brown.

Thursday, July 13; 5 p.m.—Open Air.—Hyde Park. Speakers: Miss Somers, Mrs. Gregory.

Friday, July 14; 3-7 p.m.—Garden Party.—Red House, Hornton Street, Kensington. (Kind permission of Mrs. Hoover.) Speaker: Miss Ada Moore. Admission, 1/- (In aid of U.S. Women's Club. See Kensington U.S., below.)

Friday, July 14; 8 p.m.—London Members' Meeting.—Small Essex Hall, Strand, W.C. (Members only.)

Friday, July 14; 7.45 p.m.—Public Meeting.—Onward Buildings, Manchester. Speaker: Dr. Helena Jones.

Tuesday, July 18; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Mrs. Frances Wood.

Thursday, July 20; 5 p.m.—Open Air.—Hyde Park.

Friday, July 21; 8 p.m.—Members' Meeting.—Onward Buildings, Manchester.

Saturday, July 22; 3.30 p.m.—Open Air.—Platt Fields, Manchester. Speakers: Rev. Jabez Bell, Dr. Helena Jones, &c.

Sunday, July 23; 5 p.m.—Open Air.—Hyde Park. Speakers: Mr. Darby, Miss Somers.

Sunday, July 23; 3.30 p.m.—Open Air.—Stevenson Square, Manchester.

Tuesday, July 25; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Miss Evelyn Sharp.

Thursday, July 27; 5 p.m.—Open Air.—Hyde Park.

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, S.E.

Secretary, Miss M. R. Cochrane. Tel.: Hop 4172

The Club has been repapered and painted, and is ready for visitors. (Nearest Tube station, Elephant and Castle.) Thanks are due to Mrs. R. Cobden Sanderson and Mrs. Delisle Burns for enabling us to have the Concert and Lecture Room done up.

"Star and Garter" Fund.—On June 20, Miss Ada Moore kindly came to receive the money collected by Club members for the Richmond Home for Disabled Soldiers. A large number attended the party given at the Club, and £12 15s. 4d. was handed over to Miss Moore, with a promise of more to come.

Jumble Sale.—This was a great success; £6 10s. was realised.

Thanks!—To the Babies' Kit Society of Sydney for 4 charming "kits"; to Miss Walford for arranging for her friends to send flowers regularly to the Club; to all who helped at the Jumble Sale; and to Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, £1; Mrs. Delisle Burns, £1; Miss Champion, 3s. 6d.; Miss Page, 3s. 6d.; Miss Brown, 2s. 6d.; Anonymous, 5s.

Summer Outing and Holiday Fund—Important!—We wish to repeat last year's outing in Epping Forest on July 15, and shall be grateful for donations to supplement the money subscribed by those taking part in it. Also, we are trying to arrange a week by the sea for as many as possible of our members, especially the younger ones who are working so hard in the factories. They are subscribing

themselves towards this, and will go to homes personally known to the Secretary. Warm thanks to the following, who have already generously helped: Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, £2; Mrs. Fox, £2; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, £2; Miss Joachim, £1; Mrs. Schütze, 10s.; Misses Brown, 5s.; Miss Crawford, 2s. 6d.; Miss Mundy, 5s.; Miss Mears, 3s.; Miss Postlethwaite, 5s.; Mrs. Wholen, 5s.; Mrs. White, 5s.; Miss Young, 2s.

ARE YOU MAKING JAM?

Will every one who makes jam, or bottles fruit, this summer, set aside one pot from each brew with a view to sending it to the Provision Stall at our annual Autumn Sale in aid of the U.S. Women's Club in Southwark?

BOLTON U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss S. W. Holden, 7, Hilden Street

Owing to rumours in circulation re. proposed revision of Parliamentary Register, an emergency meeting of members was held on May 31 to decide on plans of action. Among other things, a deputation was appointed to wait on the local members of Parliament. In the event of a "Suffrage crisis" the Secretary was instructed to take action at once on the lines discussed. Following on the arrest and imprisonment of our Hon. Treasurer, Mr. F. Moore, B.Sc., the Secretary was appointed Treasurer *pro tem*.

The deputation waited on Mr. W. T. Wilson, M.P. (Westthornton), on June 13, and on Mr. R. Tootill, M.P. (Bolton), on June 16. Both gentlemen gave a sympathetic hearing, and promised their support in the event of any revision of the Register or alteration or extension of the franchise to men. A copy of the June issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN was left on each occasion. The local Press have given prominence to the reports of our deputation. We have welcomed three new members (voters) to our Branch this month. Gratefully acknowledged: Members' subscriptions, 3s. Donations: Miss Dawson, 1s.; Mrs. Geldard, 2s. 6d.

GLASGOW U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Thomson, 296, Renfrew Street, Glasgow

Since our last report was published in VOTES FOR WOMEN we have been fortunate enough to secure an office. Though it is only available for the evenings—from 5 to 10 p.m.—this will be a great help, and as it has been kindly lent to us by G. C. Mearns, Esq., it will not be any extra expense. We are all most grateful to him for this valuable assistance, also to ex-Provost Perry for his generous gift of £5 towards our funds. The first general meeting was held in the new office (55, Bath Street) on Monday evening, June 5, when there were several speakers and much discussion of propaganda. Tea was served, and all crockery, kettles, &c., have been given by members, and a cupboard has been promised. It is proposed to start a suffrage library, for which any gifts will be gratefully received by the Secretary, Miss M. S. Thomson. (The former Secretary, Mrs. Kelsall, has had to resign owing to ill-health.) It has been decided to start open-air meetings immediately, and anyone who is willing to speak for us is earnestly asked to come forward. A Jumble Sale was held on June 17, and members and friends who contributed parcels are warmly thanked.

HAMPSTEAD AND GOLDFIELD'S GREEN U.S.

Hon. Secretaries: Miss Daisy Solomon, 64, Pattison Road, N.W.; Miss Dorothy Pethick, 39, Meadow Court, Golders Green, N.W.

A very successful Drawing-room Meeting was given by Madame Alice Godfrey on June 3, when the Honble. Mrs. Haverfield gave a thrilling account of her experiences in Serbia. Suffragists in the audience were filled with pride in the endurance and pluck of women, as again demonstrated in the story Mrs. Haverfield told. The collection amounted to £1.

On July 1 the Misses Thompson are kindly giving an "At Home," and they have been fortunate in securing Mr. Laurence Housman as speaker and Dr. Helen Hanson for the chair. Those wishing for invitations are asked to apply to one of the Secretaries.

We earnestly invite members and friends to offer us their drawing-rooms in the autumn for small meetings. It would be of great help in drawing up our programme now if we could have some offers at once.

KENSINGTON U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Postlethwaite, 47a, Earl's Court Road, W. Telephone: 926 Western

The At Home given by Mrs. Nesbitt was most successful; very interesting speeches were made by Mrs. Cobden Hirst and Miss Evelyn Sharp, one

new member was made, and papers sold well. A garden party is being arranged for July 14, 3 to 7, at the Red House, Hornton Street, by kind permission of Mrs. Hoover (see Campaign). There will be speeches, followed by entertainments and games, proceeds in aid of the U.S. Women's Club. Admission, 1s.; tea, 6d. Tickets on sale at the Shop, where further information can be obtained. Proceeds of Jumble Sale announced next month. Thanks for contributions from Mrs. Wakem, Mrs. Morrison, Mrs. Jopling Rowe, Miss Oldrini, and Miss Brewster. Thanks are due also to Mrs. Akenhausen for 3s. 6d., Mrs. Mayatt 1s., and Miss Burke 4s. 6d., towards Shop expenses.

LETCHWORTH U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Pym, 2, Meadow Way Green

As the result of a joint meeting of Woman's Suffrage and other women's Committees, a public meeting has been arranged for Monday, July 3, when Miss Evelyn Sharp and Mr. George Lansbury will speak on the proposed alterations in the Parliamentary Register, and the urgency of women's claim to be enfranchised. The meeting will be held at 8 p.m. in the Howard Hall. The Societies organising the meeting are the United Suffragists, National Union of W.S.S., Women's Freedom League, Women's Co-operative Guild, British Women's Temperance Association, and Women's International League.

MANCHESTER U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Hope Hampson Trevena, Bowdon

Mrs. Ridings was the speaker at the monthly Members' Meeting this month, taking the place of Miss Ellen Wilkinson, who was unfortunately prevented from coming at the last moment. She gave a very interesting address on the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice. Miss Isaacs was in the chair. We hope to hold a big outdoor meeting in Platt Fields on July 22, on the subject of the proposed Registration Bill. Will any members who can assist in any way please send in their names to the secretary? On July 14 Dr. Helena Jones has promised to come and give an account of her experiences in Corsica.

If you are run down

Even the first glass of Hall's Wine brings the assurance of returning strength, and a short course restores full health and builds up that reserve of energy so vital to every one of us.

Large size Bottle, 3/6.
Of all Wine Merchants,
& Grocers & Chemists
with Wine Licenses.

take **Hall's Wine**

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Causing Death of a Child

The *Times* (June 2) reports case of a matron of a children's home, indicted at the Dorset Assizes for causing the death of one child and neglecting others. She pleaded "Guilty" to neglect, and had been convicted of neglect once before.

Sentence: Two months' imprisonment in the first division.

Summarily Convicted

The *Western Daily Mercury* (May 3) reports case of a father (heard in camera) charged at Ker-street Police Court, before Mr. Moon and Mr. Lapworth, with criminal assault on his daughter, aged two years and eight months. The charge was reduced to indecent assault.

Sentence: Three months' imprisonment.

HEAVY SENTENCES

Forging a Mess Receipt

The *Times* (June 3) reports case of a mess steward, charged at the Dorset Assizes for forging a mess receipt. He had been twice convicted previously of forgery.

Sentence: Three years' penal servitude.

Committed for Trial

The *Morning Advertiser* (June 27) reports case of a dressmaker charged before Mr. Denman at Marlborough Street Police Court with stealing 30s. from a lady's handbag in a ladies' lavatory. There were no previous convictions, and for the defence it was urged that when searched, the money was not found on the defendant, who also denied the charge on oath. The magistrate held it was a case for a jury to decide.

Committed for trial.

WHERE PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS COUNT

We have sometimes been criticised for comparing, in our table of punishments, cases of theft or forgery, in which there are previous convictions, with cases of assault upon the person, in which no previous convictions are recorded. We have stated, in reply, that the contention does not hold good in our eyes because (1) cases of assault, especially of manslaughter, being far more serious in character, are not so likely to admit of previous convictions; (2) previous offences, for which sentences have been given and punishment suffered, should not be punished again in subsequent proceedings, whether for assault or theft; (3) that previous convictions, when they exist, are frequently not thought worth mentioning in cases of offence against the person, but are rarely omitted in reports of offences against property; (4) that where previous convictions do exist and are mentioned in parallel cases, this will not be found to influence the sentence equally in both instances.

Where They Do Not Count

The first comparison given above shows that our assumption, as stated in (4) is borne out in fact. Here we have two cases, side by side, both tried at the same Assizes, both involving previous convictions. Yet for neglecting children placed in her charge, and for even causing death in one instance, a matron gets off with a short term of the lightest kind of imprisonment, while a mess steward, for forging a signature and injuring no human life, is sentenced to three years of the hardest kind of punishment that can be given. It is true that there were two convictions in his case as against one in hers; but making full allowance for this, the discrepancy is so enormous as to leave no shadow of doubt as to the attitude of the court towards the respective values of life and property.

And until women count in the country, we do not think that this standard of values will ever be reversed.

A Baby—or Thirty Shillings?

Our second comparison reveals a still more serious state of things. Holding, as we do, that no case so terrible as that of injury inflicted by a man on his own child should be summarily dealt with, but should be sent to trial by jury, we are appalled still further by the fact that, in the Devonport case, even the maximum penalty for the reduced charge was not inflicted. As our readers know well, we do not advocate severe sentences for any class of crime, and we hold, further, that the form of punishment in a case like this one should rather involve the protection of society from the offender in future than his own punishment for an act that can only be regarded as insane. But if the law knows no other expression of its disapprobation than terms of imprisonment, it is preposterous that for a crime from the consequences of which (we are informed) the baby victim is still suffering in hospi-

tal, a man should endure no more opprobrium than is conveyed in a nominal sentence of three months' imprisonment, while a girl who on the slenderest evidence is accused of stealing thirty shillings is thought to be involved in a charge serious enough to demand its investigation by a jury in a higher court. We understand, further, that many letters sent to the newspapers on the subject of the Devonport case, which has outraged the women of the locality, were not published. This emphasises the necessity that exists for the maintenance of Suffrage organs like our own, which, in common with one or two public-spirited journals (to which we believe we may add on most occasions the *Western Daily Mercury*), do not fear to publish the truth.

A CANON'S LETTER

In the course of a letter to the *Sunday Times* (June 4), appealing for funds for two rescue homes for children, Canon Newbolt writes as follows:—

"It is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that there is a great and increasing spread of corruption among little children of an age which varies from five to fifteen.

"The nature of this corruption is two-fold:

"1. Poor little girls, not knowing what evil means, are assaulted by those who trade on their ignorance, and are thus morally injured and contaminated, with life poisoned at its very spring.

"2. Then, in too many cases, it is found that they themselves, partly from ignorance and partly from the evil which they have learned, become sources of contamination to others, and constitute a plague spot which the authorities in some cases feel constrained even to exclude from their schools.

"The statistics received from various rescue workers are such as would stagger those who do not know the urgency of the matter."

An Opportunity Missed

The rest of the Canon's letter is devoted to an appeal for £1,600 in order to start these two homes for injured and outraged little girls. He does not say a word with reference to the awfulness of the crime that makes such pathetic institutions necessary, except to attribute it mainly to the "ignorance" of the poor victims. He does not say a word of the responsibility of the men who are the real "source of contamination"—a term he applies only to the children. We cannot for one moment believe that Canon Newbolt does not feel as deeply as we do about facts which are indeed "staggering" to every sincere Christian. But why does he not intimate, when writing to the Press on the subject, that he has a full sense of the adult man's share in these increasing crimes (not excluding that of the police magistrate or judge who takes so light a view of them in the courts), instead of conveying the impression (we hope and believe a false one) that he regards such offences as a necessary evil which little girls aged from five to fifteen are unfortunately not strong enough to resist?

WOMEN AND THE IRISH SETTLEMENT

The Executive Committee of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation (29, South Anne Street, Dublin), representing twenty-seven Societies, have sent a letter to Mr. Lloyd George, representing "the desirability of including women as members of any Council or Commission which may be set up in Ireland for the period of the war."

The letter proceeds thus:—

"The Committee would point out that as Irishwomen have not possessed political power in the past their inclusion would bring an entirely new element into the government of Ireland, and this they believe to be a matter of great importance in the present crisis. The Committee beg to remind you that since the outbreak of war Irishwomen have taken their full share of work for the Empire. They are willing and eager to give their contribution towards the better governing of Ireland, and they trust that such an opportunity as that which now presents itself will not be denied to them."

A Resolution

The following resolution, passed by the Irish Women's Franchise League, has been sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, and the leaders of the political Parties:—

"That no reform of Irish Government can be considered acceptable or permanent by Irish suffragists which does not include votes for Irish women on the same terms as Irish men, and in the event of Ulster, or a portion of it, being excluded from any Home Rule scheme, we demand that the women of Ulster (or of any such excluded portion) should be consulted equally with the men as to the form of government which they prefer. We demand, furthermore, that women shall be directly represented on any advisory council or other political machinery which may be set up in Ireland."

MR. REDMOND IN DUBLIN

(From an Eye-witness)

Mr. Redmond visited Dublin to consult only his colleagues in the Party, and refused the proffered counsel and advice of an important section of the people—namely, the women. A party of well-known Suffragists applied for an interview with Mr. Redmond at the Mansion House, and, receiving no reply, waited for two and a half hours until the Conference was over. There was little public interest shown, and few people were about. When the time arrived for Mr. Redmond to leave, the police, of whom there were considerable numbers, ordered the women off. They naturally refused to go, and some time was spent in threats and entreaties from the police to the women, while Mr. Redmond was held a prisoner. Then the police began pushing and dragging several women along the road. This, of course, caused a crowd to grow, and there was a disorderly scene, as usual due entirely to the police, who were turning absolutely unoffending persons from a street open to the public because they were women.

Mr. Redmond was given to understand, however, that no settlement which leaves Irishwomen as outlaws will secure peace in Ireland.

MR. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON

The following resolution was passed by the Executive of the Irishwomen's Reform League at their first meeting after the death of Mr. Sheehy Skeffington, the well-known Suffragist:—

"That on behalf of the Irishwomen's Reform League we wish to express our sense of the very serious loss sustained by the Women's Suffrage movement in Ireland through the death of Mr. Francis Sheehy Skeffington, who filled a unique place in Irish public life by his courageous championship of the women's cause and his disinterested devotion to its furtherance; and that we tender Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington our heartfelt sympathy in her bereavement."

PRESS OPINIONS

Registration Reform or Franchise?

The main point is that registration reforms or Reform Bills (call them what you please) cannot be a standing item in our politics. When once this subject is dealt with, no one wishes to touch it again for several years at least. That means that any postponement now is necessarily a long postponement. If we mean within any measurable period to enfranchise women, the only handsome way to do it, and, indeed, the only way compatible with entire sincerity, is to do it in time to enable them to vote at the next election. A failure to do it now will mean that all our politics will be confused for the next five years by a distracting agitation, and women, when they do come in, will enter, not in a mood of good comradeship and patriotic unity, but after the embitterment of a needlessly protracted struggle. . . . The vote has become more than ever an urgent domestic question, while to the nation has come the will to solve it generously and promptly.—*Nation* (May 27).

Soldiers and Women

For ourselves, we are far from being in love with the proposal to make military service alone a qualification for the vote. . . . But what seems to us clear is that the immense voluntary effort of the women is at least as worthy of recognition as is that of the men, and that to invite and accept their services as citizens in all manner of civic labour and then refuse them the same recognition of citizenship as is freely accorded to their brothers would be a shocking example of a poor and peddling spirit.—*Manchester Guardian*, (June 19.)

Votes for Men AND women!

An extension of the franchise is an extension of the franchise, whatever it is called: and when one sex or class is excluded altogether from the franchise, an extension to the more favoured sex or class is an actual positive increase in the disability of the sex or class excluded. For this reason, passionately as we are attached to the idea of manhood suffrage, we should feel obliged to oppose it if it came unaccompanied by the long-overdue recognition of the rights of women. We believe that, at this stage, such a "revision of the register" as the Government are suspected of contemplating would put off the enfranchisement of women for years, and would thus be an insult, not merely to women, but to that principle of democracy in which we all believe.—*Herald* (June 17).

The Old Complication

The agitation in favour of "votes for women" is likely still further to complicate the problem with which the Local Government Board is confronted in attempting to frame a new register on equitable lines.—*Nottingham Guardian* (May 31).

At Last!

There is reason to believe that the time is not far distant when women's political rights shall be conceded with general consent. We are convinced that a measure enfranchising women could be carried now, and that it would have as smooth and rapid a passage as the Summer Time (Day-light Saving) Bill has had.—*Blackburn Weekly Telegraph* (May 20).

KEIR HARDIE MEMORIAL

For the sake of the many Suffragists who would like to show respect to the memory of a man who always advocated their cause, in and out of Parliament, who stood up alone amid the jeers of his fellow M.P.'s to protest against the outrage of forcible feeding, we are glad to bring to the notice of our readers a Keir Hardie Memorial Fund (chairman, Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P.), part of which, when raised, will be devoted to the erection of some monument, and part set aside to be held in trust for his family. For Keir Hardie died a poor man—a fact that will surprise no one who knows how persistently he set principle before personal advantage. Donations should be addressed to the Secretary of the Fund, Mr. Francis Johnson, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, E.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.
—Mrs. Despard's Birthday, Caxton Hall, Westminster, Thursday, July 6, 7 to 9.30 p.m. Songs, dances, presentation of Birthday Gift to the League, and short speeches by Mrs. Despard, Miss Nina Boyle, Miss Munro, Mrs. Schofield Coates, Mrs. Tanner, and Mrs. Zangwill. Tickets (including refreshments), 1s., from the W.F.L. Office, 144, High Holborn, W.C.

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Mr. HENRY W. NEVINSON, Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST,
Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY,
Mr. J. H. THOMAS** (engagements permitting), and others.

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